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## "BUSINESS."

### A Brazen-Blunt Capitalist Lets Out What that Means.

#### A JUGGERNAUT CAR.

Wealth is intended to support life—  
Capitalism turns this upside down  
and sacrifices life to wealth. The life  
it sacrifices is, of course, not the life  
of the idle class, but the life of the  
toiling masses, whose every inch  
must be devoted to the production  
and protection of the wealth on  
which its exploiters are enabled to  
spend a riotous existence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 6.—The  
Interstate Commerce Commission during  
last week granted a hearing to the  
various railroads who were requesting  
an extension of time within which to  
equip their freight cars with safety ap-  
pliances.

During the course of that hearing  
several gentlemen representing the rail-  
roads said some very good things, i. e.,  
good for use by Socialists. Chief among  
those gentlemen was John R. Cowan,  
receiver for the B. & O., who, in answer  
to a statement that loss of life and limb  
was caused by lack of said safety ap-  
pliances, said: "THE QUESTION OF  
LOSS OF LIFE OR LIMB DOES NOT  
ENTER INTO THE QUESTION  
UNDER CONSIDERATION; it was a  
matter of business; was the commerce  
and business of the country to be con-  
tinued or not? That was the only  
question to be decided by the Commis-  
sion."

The advocates of "business" claim  
that business is conducted for the pur-  
pose of sustaining and enhancing life;  
that it is the most important thing in  
the world, to which all others must give  
way, because without "business" and  
commerce those things necessary to  
sustain and enhance life could not be  
secured; that without "business" hu-  
manity would cease to exist; that on  
"business" hang all of humanity's  
hopes and desires; that "business" and  
"business" alone make life possible.  
Such being the case, it is remarkable  
for one who is engaged in conducting  
the "business" to a large extent of the  
country to say that life cuts no ice  
where "business" is concerned; that if  
to carry on "business" it becomes  
necessary to destroy life, well and good,  
let her rip, "business" is "business,"  
and that which it was instituted to sus-  
tain and enhance must go by the board.

There is no reasonable excuse for  
commerce or business except that they  
are necessary to humanity in the pro-  
duction and distribution of those things  
necessary to the life of humanity, for  
no other reason were they instituted; for  
no other reason are they tolerated by  
humanity; and when, instead of con-  
serving and enhancing life, they become  
destructive of life, that minute they  
become a hindrance to and an outrage  
upon humanity. Socialists long ago  
pointed out the fact that the present  
system of production, called "business,"  
was destructive to life; long ago they  
pointed to the abuses and crime caused  
by "business," and it remains now for  
the upholders of the present system to  
support the statements of the Socialists.

Men are murdered and maimed in the  
conduct of business. "Very good," says  
the capitalist; men are starved in the  
midst of plenty by business; "all right,"  
says the capitalist; men are denied the  
chance to live by business; "we don't  
deny it," says the capitalist; "but what  
are you going to do about it?" Does the  
working class need any better food for  
thought? What are they going to do  
about it? They are the ones who suffer  
from "business," they are the ones  
killed and maimed, and whilst the So-  
cialist workingman has pointed out  
those facts, evidence has been ac-  
cumulating to prove that what he said  
was true.

Socialism has indicted the present  
system as murderous and useless to  
them, and has arraigned the upholders  
of that system at the bar of humanity  
who now brazenly and defiantly plead  
guilty.

Business conserves and sustains the  
lives of those who control and manage  
it, and is a menace to all others—ad-  
mittedly so. Why, then, allow it to  
exist? Because we cannot abolish it?  
It is supported and sustained solely by  
ignorance on the part of the working  
class of its real nature, and because  
those who support and sustain it do not  
know what to put in its place.

We must produce those things neces-  
sary to sustain life; without them we  
must die; yet we die because we want  
to live. How are we to change things  
so that we can get these things and  
live? The present system of produc-  
tion is one wherein the means of pro-  
duction are the property of a few, used  
by that few not to further the interests  
of humanity but to secure themselves  
wealth that others produce, so that they  
may riot in a superfluity of luxuries.  
Now, these instruments of production  
—machinery, tools, etc., are the crea-  
tion of humanity, created for the purpose  
of securing those things necessary to the  
life of humanity, and are NOT in any  
sense the creation of the few who now  
own them. They are therefore as a mat-  
ter of course not the property of those  
who now hold them. Such being the  
case, they are used as are all things  
used, to secure the thieves in the op-  
portunity to steal more, and it is only  
natural that while in the hands of the  
thieves they should be a curse instead  
of a blessing.

Originally the right to private  
ownership in the land on which to work  
was secured by violence and fraud; so

likewise was the right to private owner-  
ship in the machinery with which to  
work secured, and both "rights" have  
been perpetuated by and through legis-  
lation in the interest of the capitalist  
class, who have through the agency of  
political and labor fakings bunched the  
working class into following the cap-  
italist class to control legislation.

The working class can by organizing  
in their own interest along class-con-  
scious political lines remove from the  
capitalist class the "right" to private  
ownership in land and machinery, and  
can make both the collective property  
of the people operate the machinery,  
etc., co-operatively, and secure to every  
man the right to work and the right to  
live free from danger and abuse. But  
they cannot gain those rights by help-  
ing those who subject them to abuse and  
danger, nor by following every Yahoo  
chasing wild geese. They have got to  
face the monster of "business" man-  
fashion, understand that they and they  
alone keep that monster in existence;  
and, understanding that, they will know  
it as something tangible, something cap-  
able of being forced to array its sup-  
porters on the political battle field, and  
once becoming clear on that point, to  
annihilate it with the Arm and Hammer  
of the Socialist Labor party, the only  
party in this country intelligent enough  
to know what ails US, and the only  
party brave enough to locate OUR  
enemy; therefore the only possible party  
of the working class, and because of  
that, the only party necessary to secure  
the "emancipation of the working  
class."

ARTHUR KEEP.



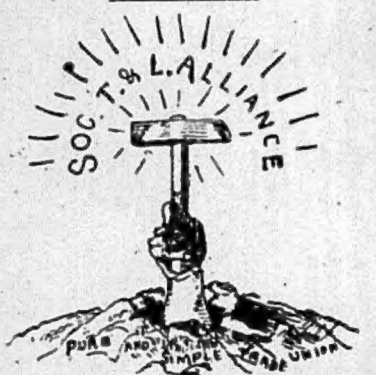
### VICTORY IN HAVERHILL.

Municipal Election Returns from  
Massachusetts.

HAVERHILL, Dec. 8.—At to-day's  
municipal election Comrade Jas. T.  
Carey, the S. L. P. candidate for Alder-  
man in the 2d Ward, was returned at  
the top of the poll. He is the first So-  
cialist elected here. The S. L. P. can-  
didate for Mayor polled 800 votes.

FITCHBURG, Dec. 7.—Andrew David-  
son, S. L. P. candidate for Mayor polled  
here to-day 498 votes; Herman Kaiser,  
for Alderman, 2d Ward, 238. Last Nov.  
2 we had 105 votes.

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 7.—For S. L. P.  
Mayor, John B. Cullen, 153; for Alder-  
man, Ward 4th, John Doyle, 414; Ward  
7th, Frederick A. Nagler, 306.



There is great howling and gnashing  
of teeth and putting on of sackcloth and  
ashes in the household of the Chicago  
Anarchist Cloakmakers. Woe is them.  
The Cloakmakers' Union, several hun-  
dred strong, of that city, decided to join  
the S. T. & L. A., and applied for a  
charter.

No more to Anarchists, male and  
female, the harp of Anarchy will shed  
her sounds from the Cloakmakers' Union;  
the dues, that once into Anarchist  
discord turned and swelled the hearts  
of labor cheats, no more shall tinkle  
from Cloakmakers' Hall to disunite,  
disrupt, mislead those workers.

Thus the glorious days of fakirism  
pass and go, and a new era, bright with  
hope, is breaking forth.

#### WHOSE PRESIDENT IS HE?

With wages tumbling down in all  
directions; with the masses of the  
people in more and more depressed con-  
dition—the working class finding it ever  
harder to get jobs, the middle class find-  
ing it ever more difficult to hold its own  
in competition with the rapid con-  
centrations of capital; with suicide and  
kindred signs of economic depression,  
Mr. William McKinley opens Congress  
with these words:

"Your meeting occurs under felicitous  
conditions, justifying sincere congrat-  
ulation, and calling for our grateful  
acknowledgment of a beneficent Provi-  
dence, which has so signally blessed and  
prospered us as a nation."

This William McKinley is a President.  
Whose President? Of the prosperous.  
These are barely ten per cent. of the  
nation. Ninety per cent. are not  
prosperous; just the reverse.

Mr. William McKinley is the Presi-  
dent of the prosperous class—the cap-  
italist class.

Let the working class take this fact to  
heart, and hasten to elect a President  
who shall be the President of the ma-  
jority.

## 'TIS NO WONDER

### That The Working Class Is Despised by the Capitalists.

Samuel Gompers Traitor Before the  
Interstate Commerce Committee, In-  
stead of Asserting the Rights of the  
Workers, he Yields that and Takes the  
Railroad Bond-holders Under his  
Wings—Ignorance and Corruption Ex-  
emplified—The Fundamental Prin-  
ciples of Economics and of Justice on  
Which Rest all the Aspirations of the  
Proletariat Ignored.

Mr. Samuel Gompers has again placed  
the uprising proletariat under deep ob-  
ligation to himself. With his usual  
abnegation he has again filled in his  
own matchless way the rôle of "Horrible  
Example" that must enlighten the  
workers on the reason why they are  
looked down upon with contempt by the  
capitalist class. Such services are valu-  
able. They cannot be rendered very  
long before the self-branded labor fakir  
class shall be cast off, and the labor  
movement pass into the hands of in-  
telligent as well as honest leadership.

The scene was in Washington, in the  
room where the Interstate Commerce  
Commissioner was holding a certain  
session; the time was the afternoon of  
the 1st instant. The occasion was the  
hearing granted to the application of  
Railroad Companies for a further exten-  
sion of the time when the present  
deadly coupling system shall be sub-  
stituted by the automatic coupler. Op-  
ponents to the application of the com-  
panies were also invited. Mr. Gompers  
was there. Did he appear for the com-  
panies? Did he appear for the railroad  
hands, for the workers who had been  
lucky enough to have so far escaped  
mutilation or death? Let Mr. Gompers  
himself speak.

From 10 to 20 thousand railroad em-  
ployees have suffered more or less  
serious injuries, and 2,000 have been  
killed outright during the last five  
years. Of these "accidents," fully 60  
per cent. are directly attributable to the  
existing system of coupling. The law,  
whose extension of time the companies  
are praying for, has already been ex-  
tended. The present request is based  
on the same grounds as the previous  
ones, to wit, the expensiveness and in-  
convenience of the change.

Every one knows, or should know,  
that there is no railroad line in the  
nation that does not throw wealth,  
under some guise or another, into the  
hands of some idle railroad proprietor.  
These proprietors have a variety of  
ways to conceal the fact. Dividends are  
not always forthcoming, and then the  
proprietors put on a poor mouth and  
look abused; but they are silent on the  
fact that though the stocks draw no  
dividends, another tentacle of the  
vampire Capitalism does, to wit, the  
tentacle of "bonds." Even when in the  
hands of a receiver a railroad may be a  
source of fat profits or fleecings.

But again, even if indeed not a cent of  
unearned wealth were to-day yielded by  
a road to "stock-holders," or "bond-  
holders," or "lessors," or what not,  
every one knows, or should know, that  
such road did at one time yield rev-  
enues on which these gentlemen lived in  
comfort and safety; that these revenues  
were wealth squeezed out of the flesh,  
the marrow and the sweat of workers;  
and that the original capital itself that  
enabled these fleecings to be perpetrated  
represents wealth for which the work-  
ing class had to work, bleed and even  
die. Thus, even if at a certain time no  
such fleecings can be had, it is no  
reason why the fleeced should continue  
to be exposed, and the fleecers should  
not shed out some of their stolen goods  
for the protection of the robbed.

The representatives of the Railroad  
Companies before the Interstate Com-  
merce Committee held the view that it  
was proper to the capitalist class. Ac-  
cording to them, it would be a "wrong  
done to investors" who are now "deriving  
small returns" to put in the automatic  
coupler, and thus "wipe out" the little  
earnings; but above all, it would be an  
unheard-of, most un-American inquiry  
to "inflict on the companies" such an  
expense as the new couplers would in-  
volve, at a time when no dividends are  
paid upon stocks. Surely no fault could  
be found with such views. They express  
accurately the class interests and class  
morality of the class that utters them,  
and in whose behalf they are uttered.  
They are class-conscious capitalism.

And Mr. Gompers, for whom did he  
appear? The tree is known by its fruit;  
the man by his acts. He claimed to  
represent the working class. Did he  
display that honesty and intelligence  
that the workers demand from their  
representative? Surely here was an op-  
portunity to do both. To tear the mask  
of economic falsehood and of brigand  
justice behind which the oppressors and  
slaughterers of laborers hide their  
hideous faces; to show that the demand  
amounted to nothing short of a request  
that these butchers be allowed to draw  
some more profits from their butcheries;  
and to pronounce in the firmest notes  
possible the principle that LIFE IS  
MORE PRECIOUS THAN PROPERTY.  
It was the opportunity to tear to shreds  
the capitalist false pretences that the  
laws they enact are for the whole  
people, and, to demand in the sternest  
notes in the name of the working class  
that the tardy coupler law be at last  
enforced and enforced quickly—even if  
by so doing some loafing capitalist may  
get less fleecings, or may be left with-  
out any. That is what a bona fide rep-  
resentative of the working class would  
do.

(Continued on Page 4.)

## BOSTON'S MAYORALTY.

### Letter of Acceptance by the S. L. P. Candidate.

David Goldstein, the Socialist Labor  
Party Candidate for Mayor in the  
Pending Boston Municipal Election,  
Outlines the Premises and Aims of  
Socialism, Taking the Sound Ground  
that all Election Involves the Issue  
of Labor Against Capitalism, and  
Every Vote Cast, Whatever the Elec-  
tion May be, Says Either "For" or  
"Against" the Continuance of Wage  
Slavery.

BOSTON, Nov. 10.—Socialist Labor  
Party of Boston: Comrades—Your com-  
munication of Nov. 3d, 1897, notifying  
me of your selection of myself as can-  
didate for the office of Mayor of the city  
of Boston is at hand. In accepting the  
responsibility and honor, I wish to say  
that the issues that confront the work-  
ing class of our city are the same as the  
issues that confront the wage workers  
of the State, the nation and the world.

That is to say that CAPITALISM, or  
individual ownership and control of the  
means of life, is the obvious cause of  
the intellectual, moral and economic  
servitude of the people.

The wealth of the United States, ac-  
cording to the statistics of Geo. K.  
Holmes, is divided as follows:

The capitalist class, which is com-  
posed of 8 1/2 per cent. of the families of  
the nation, owns and controls 71  
per cent. of the wealth, amounting to  
\$12,200,000,000, which includes real  
estate and improvements, farm ma-  
chinery, mines, quarries, gold and silver  
coin and bullion, machinery of mills  
and products on hand, railroads and  
equipments, telegraphs, telephones,  
shipping canals, etc., etc.

The middle class, composed of 39 per  
cent. of the families of the country,  
owns 24 per cent. of the wealth, amount-  
ing to \$14,550,000,000, which is invested  
in small farms, factories and stores,  
while the working class, who comprise  
52 1/2 per cent. of the families of the  
nation, own 4 1/2 per cent. of the wealth  
amounting to \$2,746,000,000, which con-  
sists of articles of personal use. Work-  
ingmen-owning real estate are not in-  
cluded in the 52 1/2 per cent.

The middle class are being eliminated  
in the competitive war which is going  
on in society to-day, as they are not in  
control of enough capital to compete  
with the larger capitalists. They are  
on the verge of bankruptcy, and the  
major part of them will be forced into  
the ranks of the wage workers.

According to Bradstreet, there were  
last year 1,150,000 firms and corpora-  
tions in the United States and Canada.  
Of this total number, which comprises  
every concern great or small, in man-  
ufacture, trade, commerce, transporta-  
tion, mining, insurance, banking, etc.,  
224,000, or nearly 20 per cent., either  
failed or gave up business during the  
year.

Of the 17,300 that failed, and of the  
207,200 that retired in time to escape  
bankruptcy 80 per cent. had a capital  
of less than \$5,000, and 14 per cent. had  
a capital of more than \$5,000 but less  
than \$20,000.

At this rate it would take but a very  
few years to wipe out of existence every  
firm in North America having a capital  
of less than \$20,000, and to concentrate  
in the hands of a few thousand great  
concerns all the business of this con-  
tinent.

There are still, however, many people  
who possess a little property accumu-  
lated in better times, chiefly by their  
fathers, and who untaught by the mis-  
fortunes of their neighbors, rashly em-  
bark with their little all in the rotten  
ship of middle-class enterprise, thus  
filling the gaps made by bankruptcy in  
the ranks of the mercantile army. "But  
this supply of raw material for capital-  
istic absorption is necessarily limited,  
and the time of its absorption cannot be  
distant."

In view of these facts, it can be plain-  
ly seen that a struggle among the cap-  
italists is going on in our midst, that is  
to say, great capitalists who have ap-  
propriated the surplus values created  
by their wage workers and thereby  
amassed large fortunes, by which they  
now control all the natural resources  
of the earth, land, water, and all the  
machinery of production, transporta-  
tion, distribution and exchange, the  
CAPITALIST CLASS whose wealth is  
being concentrated into fewer and fewer  
hands, and by the formation of monop-  
olies and trusts are putting an end  
(amongst their class) to competition  
which they some time held "to be the  
life of trade."

The working class (52 per cent.) who,  
having no control of the things neces-  
sary for them to work upon in order  
to produce the articles necessary for  
them to sustain their lives and propa-  
gate their species, are dependent upon  
capitalists for an opportunity to ex-  
ercise their labor power, in order that they  
may produce (according to the report of  
Carroll D. Wright of 1890) \$2,204 worth  
of wealth annually that they may re-  
ceive \$445 called wages, while competi-  
tion amongst their class is becoming  
fiercer and fiercer owing to the intro-  
duction of machinery which displaces  
labor power and keeps the price of  
laborers down to the lowest subsistence  
level—that is to say, the working class  
get for the energy they expend upon  
the raw materials and machinery  
enough food, clothing and shelter to  
recuperate the force they expend and  
to produce more laborers, or, as Karl  
Marx says:

"The value of labor power as the  
value of all commodities is determined  
by the labor time necessary for its pro-  
duction and reproduction."  
Labor power has "use value," which

is determined by the cost of its pro-  
duction.

Labor power is sold at its "exchange  
value." If we desire to ascertain the  
value of any commodity we must bring  
it into relation with another commodity,  
which, like itself, has social power em-  
bodied in it, and qualitatively measure  
it by that substance. If we do this, we  
get our equation, one price.

This principle applies to all commodi-  
ties. We find the value of labor power  
by cost of production, given the cost of  
subsistence of labor power, which is  
equal to the quantity of labor embodied  
in the necessities of life of the worker,  
and you can ascertain the cost of pro-  
ducing the wage slave.

Society is split into two classes—cap-  
italists and workingmen, whose inter-  
ests are diametrically opposed to each  
other. One who owns all the lands and  
tools of production and whose economic  
class interests prompt him to buy labor  
power at the lowest possible price. This  
can be done only by keeping a surplus  
of it on the market, and the other class  
who possesses nothing but labor power  
and are compelled to sell it from day to  
day in order to live.

The Socialist Labor Party, conscious  
of the irresistible economic develop-  
ment and understanding the source of  
wealth production, is convinced that  
nothing but the complete overthrow of  
the present wage system, and the sub-  
stitution of production for use in place  
of production for exchange, for profit  
will put an end to the struggle for exis-  
tence going on in society.

"To-day," says Karl Kautsky, "there  
is no longer any question as to whether  
or not the system of private ownership  
in the means of production shall be  
maintained. Its downfall is certain."

"The only question to be answered is  
this: Shall the system of private owner-  
ship in the means of production be  
allowed to pull society down into the  
abyss, or shall society shake off that  
baneful burden, place the land and the  
implements of production in the hands  
of the people, to be operated collec-  
tively, for use and not for profit, and then,  
free and refreshed, resume the path of  
progress, which the evolutionary law  
prescribes to it?"

"Such is the question and such the  
alternative. Our generation stands  
where the roads fork. One path leads  
through ruin, back to barbarism; the  
other leads onward to the co-operative  
commonwealth."

The Socialist Labor Party declares for  
the abolition of economic classes and  
the establishment of the co-operative  
commonwealth in which the means of  
production, distribution and exchange  
shall belong to the people in common.  
A commonwealth in which no man is  
longer will be compelled to sell them-  
selves as a commodity into wage slav-  
ery. A society in which no man will  
live upon the labor of his fellow man.  
A society in which the workers will get  
the full return for energy expended and  
no longer be compelled to lead lives  
that are not their own. In a word, a so-  
ciety in which every man, woman and  
child irrespective of race, creed or color  
will have an equality of opportunity.

I consider it a great distinction to  
have been selected as the standard  
bearer of the Boston Socialist Labor  
Party in this our first city campaign,  
and let us hope in the near future the  
majority of citizens in our city will be-  
come conscious of the fact that their  
economic emancipation lies in voting  
into full power—municipal, State and  
national—the only workingman's party  
that holds in its keeping the key to the  
solution of the problems that confront  
the workers of the world to-day, the  
Socialist Labor Party.

With pride and gratitude, Comrades,  
I accept the nomination you have  
honored me with.

Yours fraternally,  
DAVID GOLDSTEIN.

There are those who claim the S. T. &  
L. A. accomplishes nothing. Let these  
gentlemen stick their noses over the  
following fact:

The German Typographia No. 7, con-  
trolled by Anarchist pure and simple-  
dom, besides treating their unemployed  
members as dogs, was considering a  
proposition to lower the out-of-work  
benefit. At that juncture appeared the  
document of the General Executive  
Board of the S. T. & L. A., "In the Mat-  
ter of the Printers," giving a graphic  
account of the anti-solidarity conduct  
of the Typographia. The immediate re-  
sult was:

First—The proposition to lower the  
out-of-work benefit was dropped like a  
hot potato;

Second—The unemployed of the union  
were awakened to a sense of their own  
dignity, and began to move for higher  
out-of-work benefits.

The field to raise recruits from is not  
that of "union" office holders, but of  
the men who have nothing to lose but  
their chains.

"Crispi Must Face Ugly Charges."

"Legislative Commission Appointed to  
Investigate His Case."

"Italy's Grand Old Man."

"Blackmail, Embezzlement and Sale of  
Decorations Ascribed to the  
Ex-Premier."

"He Appealed to King Humbert to Stop  
All Proceedings, and Menaced the  
Monarch with Deposition and  
Exile if He Refused."

ROME, Dec. 2.—To-day the Chamber  
of Deputies appointed a commission of  
five to inquire into the charges against  
Signor Francesco Crispi, former  
Premier, in connection with the Bank of  
Naples scandals, and the illegal traffic  
in decorations.

What a spectacle for this capitalist  
century when this is a specimen of the  
"Grand old men" it produces!

## DIFFERENCE

### Between Socialism and Communism.

Two Words often Confounded Yet Rad-  
ically Different—As Communism  
Rises Simply From Humane Aspira-  
tions, it Ignores the Material Founda-  
tion of all Social System and Imag-  
ines a System of Society that Flies  
in the Face of the Requisite System  
of Production—Socialism Grounded on  
the Material Corner-Stone of Society  
Builds in Strict Logical Accord There-  
with.

Very often the greatest opposition to  
Socialism is the result of a gross mis-  
apprehension of its true principles. If  
our opponents, instead of abusing the  
Socialists and condemning the system  
of society Socialists propose to estab-  
lish, would only take the pains to in-  
vestigate this subject and read some of  
the authorities on Socialism, they  
would, in a very short time, be able to  
see their mistake in condemning prin-  
ciples of which they were wholly ig-  
norant.

Socialism and Communism are two  
terms often used by opponents in a way  
which would indicate that they mean  
one and the same thing. Mostly all of  
the bourgeois writers on Socialism en-  
counter the two terms that way. To  
them Socialism is synonymous with  
Communism. This is a great error.  
The following will prove the absurdity  
of using the two terms as if they meant  
the same thing.

First, as to Socialism.—To-day the  
term Socialism is more popular than it  
was ever before; that is because the  
essence of the Socialist movement is  
now more or less known everywhere.  
People no longer think Socialism to be  
a terrible thing, and a Socialist to be a  
man with red hair (similar to that of  
the terrible Huns of the Dark Ages),  
savage faces, whiskers reaching to the  
ground, where are hidden a few dozen  
bombs and a few pounds of dynamite.  
Thanks to the activity of the militant  
Socialists, those days of blessed igno-  
rance are already a thing of the past.  
Nearly every one who possesses com-  
mon sense looks upon a Socialist as a  
man whose aim is to organize a system  
of society different from the one exist-  
ing at the present time.

What is Socialism?  
In the "Coming Social Struggle" I had  
occasion to define it as "a theory of  
social organization, which the in-  
dustries will be organized on a national  
or international basis of collective  
ownership, operated and controlled by  
all the members of society."

Socialism then aims at the abolition  
of all private ownership in the means  
of production and exchange, as, for in-  
stance, the soil and all the implements  
of production. But this does not at all  
exclude private ownership of things for  
personal use. Under Socialism, every  
individual who did not spend all he  
earned will have perfect freedom to dis-  
pose of his personal wealth in a way to  
suit himself. This is Socialism.

Communism differs from Socialism in  
this particular: while Socialism desires  
to place under collective ownership that  
part of wealth called capital, which is  
needed to produce the necessities and  
luxuries of life, Communism goes fur-  
ther and demands the abolition of  
private ownership of all kinds of wealth.  
Communism would not leave anything  
to the individual, and it would make  
the community the sole owner of all the  
wealth. While Socialism has for its  
maxim—to each according to his needs;  
Communism has for its maxim—to each  
according to his needs.

The following seems to be another  
essential difference between Socialism  
and Communism. While the former  
tends to centralization, the latter tends  
to the direct opposite—decentralization.  
The forming of small "communes"  
seems to be an essential feature of com-  
munism, and therein Communism is a  
back number in the world's history, be-  
cause the modern and requisite method  
of production, necessary to produce  
abundantly, demands nations for its  
basis. The "commune" is too small a  
basis. Communism ignores this econ-  
omic and social fact; Socialism recog-  
nizes it.

These, I believe, are the main differ-  
ences between Socialism and Commu-  
nism.

The leading Communists preceded the  
modern Socialists. Mostly all of  
the former lived between the latter half  
of the eighteenth century and the first  
half of the nineteenth century. They  
were nearly all of noble birth, who,  
mostly from philanthropic and senti-  
mental motives, desired to see Com-  
munism established. But this kind of  
Communism never developed into a  
movement.

Modern Socialism more truly begins  
with Karl Marx, the greatest economic  
thinker and most far-sighted man of the  
present century. Frederick Engels is a  
man of no less importance to the So-  
cialists, although inferior to Marx. It  
is a fact that the German school of  
economics produced all modern Social-  
ists, while the French school produced  
all Communists.

Marx planted Socialism on the dis-  
covery of the fact that the class struggle  
exists in modern society, and that  
thereby the elements are formed that  
will inevitably lead to the Socialist Co-  
operative Commonwealth.

WILLIAM EDLIN.

General Agitation Fund.  
Previously acknowledged ..... \$275.00  
Arbeiter Saengerbund, per Herm.  
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Ernest Lemmon, Barre, Vt. .... 1.00  
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Pawtucket, R. I., per Otto Rein-  
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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....2,088  
In 1890.....12,231  
In 1892 (Presidential).....21,157  
In 1894.....33,133  
In 1896 (Presidential).....36,564

Rightly, to be great,  
Is not to stir without great argu-  
ment,  
But greatly to find quarrel in a  
straw.  
When honor's at stake.  
Shakespeare.

A typographical error made us say in  
this place last week that the Socialist  
Labor party's vote this year, as in-  
dicated by the latest returns, would ex-  
ceed "52,000." We meant to say 53,000.

More recent and complete returns  
enable us this week to raise these  
figures.

Colorado comes in with 1,444; the re-  
turns from New York are larger than  
we calculated, and will be close to 21-  
000. The final official figures are not yet  
all in. Until we have them the full  
table can not be published.

But this much is now certain: The  
class-conscious revolutionary political  
army of the nation last Nov. 2 rose  
ABOVE 54,000.

A WARNING TO HOLYOKE WORK-  
MEN.

There is in Holyoke a paper published  
with the German name of "Die Blende,"  
partly in the German and partly in the  
English language. We don't know who  
its editor is, nor what, if any, organiza-  
tion is back of it. Its language, how-  
ever, on political matters justifies a  
word of warning. For instance, this  
passage occurs in its issue of the 1st in-  
stant:

"In the Second Ward OUR PARTY  
has put up no candidate for Alderman.  
For this reason we recommend to the  
voters of that ward that they support  
Mr. J. M. Piquette. Although he is set  
up by the Republican party, he is a man  
such as the workmen could not want  
any better."

This passage is not in itself cause for  
a warning. "Our party" may be any  
party; it may be the Democratic, the  
Populist, the Prohibition or even Debs'  
party, feeling that its organ claims the  
"Social Democracy" has set up an or-  
ganization in that town; "our party"  
may be any of these according as the  
writer or owner of a paper may be  
Democratic, Republican, etc., and, in  
that case, the passage would not be  
cause for surprise.

That which entitles the above quoted  
passage to be cautioned against is the  
company it turns up in. In previous  
issues, in the issue in which the passage  
occurs, and in subsequent issues, num-  
erous Socialist Labor party articles  
appear; S. L. P. candidates are men-  
tioned; the S. L. P. vote, and no other  
party's is given; the S. L. P. platform  
and no other platform is published;—in  
fact the paper conveys the impression  
of its being an S. L. P. paper, owned and  
controlled by the S. L. P. This being  
thus, "our party" is suggestively the S.  
L. P., and uninformed or incautious  
people may be deceived into the belief  
that a responsible Socialist paper could  
commit such a breach of trust against  
the workers as to recommend to them  
to vote for a candidate who stands upon  
a labor-fleeing party's platform.

In view of this we earnestly warn the  
workmen of Holyoke against the decep-  
tion that is attempted upon them by  
"Die Blende." A man who deserves the  
support of workmen will not be found  
in the ranks of capitalist parties; he  
will be found in the ranks of the S.  
L. P.; the man who is found in the ranks  
of capitalist parties not only does not  
merit the support of the workers, but he  
merits their suspicion, all the more be-  
cause his boomers seek to extenuate his  
capitalist political affiliations.

The passage herein quoted, together  
with the S. L. P. setting given to it, is a  
piece of fraud, all the more blame-  
worthy because it insinuates a danger-  
ous theory, a theory that directly flies  
in the face of principles that are funda-  
mental with the Socialist movement, to  
wit, that the capitalist parties are pro-  
ducts of capitalist class interests, and  
that the working class cannot reach  
through such portals, but through the  
portals of their own class party, the  
benefits to be derived from political  
success.

The reverse theory, preached in the  
article that we quote from "Die Blende,"  
has been a great stumbling block in the  
path of proletarian class-consciousness;  
no individual Socialist or Socialist or-

ganization can advance such theory  
without his or its being expelled for  
crookedness as fast as the party's ma-  
chinery can operate upon the crook in  
question.

The S. L. P. warns the workers of  
Holyoke to keep their weather eye upon  
"Die Blende," and to give the Republican  
candidate Piquette a wide berth, as a  
man who carries water on both  
shoulders, and, consequently, is par-  
ticularly to be mistrusted.

## THEIR UTILITY.

The report from Virginia, published  
under "Party News," on the fourth page  
of this issue, deserves careful perusal;  
like a phylactery, the lesson it teaches  
should be kept permanently between  
the eyes, and nailed to the door-posters  
of those who are now drilling within the  
party for the arduous work that lies at  
hand.

The vote for the party's candidate for  
Governor fell nearly 1,500 votes behind  
the poll of the candidate for Lieutenant-  
Governor. That the heads of our tickets  
should run somewhat behind is, at this  
early stage, to be expected; the fight  
usually is on them, and not a few are  
still so confused on the significance of  
class politics that while they substan-  
tially adopt the Socialist platform, they  
fear to "lose their votes"; knowing that  
the head of the Socialist ticket will not  
be elected, they virtually repudiate all  
the Socialist candidates whom they vote  
for by voting for the head of some cap-  
italist ticket. This we know is a com-  
mon thing; we count with it; and we  
counteract and seek to correct it by the  
intensity of our class-consciousness  
awakening propaganda.

The lesson taught by the Virginia re-  
port is of a very different nature. It  
turns out that a semi-freak, and who  
knows if not worse, called Cowden, set  
himself up as a candidate for Governor,  
and sailed under the usurped colors of  
Socialism. His action confused a num-  
ber of voters, who, not guided by any-  
thing on the ballot, and misguided by  
Cowden's claims, took this adventurer  
for the Socialist Labor party's candidate  
for Governor, and thus were cheated out  
of their suffrage.

The firm attitude of the S. L. P. to-  
wards the non-descripts and crooks,  
who float about as Socialists, is fre-  
quently condemned as intolerance. What  
"tolerance" in such cases would mean  
the heavy drain on the poll of the  
S. L. P. candidate for Governor in Vir-  
ginia gives a hint of. The capitalist  
parties will not be slow to discover the  
utility of the Cowdens; these will be  
bred in regular order; and if the cry of  
"tolerance" should sufficiently affect the  
party, no warning sound or too weak a  
warning would help the masses to  
escape being entrapped. Incubators of  
Socialist stool-pigeons will then become  
a regular department of the capitalist  
political machines.

Let the lesson be thoroughly learned  
and never lost sight of. Whoever is  
a Socialist ranks himself under the  
banner of the S. L. P.; whoever does  
not, is none; and, if he dons Socialist  
colors, must be exposed and fought with  
even greater severity than the open  
enemy, he being a much more danger-  
ous one to the cause of human redemp-  
tion—because of his false pretences.

## NOT AN EMPTY BOAST.

What is considered the most remark-  
able industrial organization in the his-  
tory of manufacturing is about com-  
pleted. It is a mammoth \$50,000,000  
wire combine. The report of those who  
engineered the consolidation runs thus:

"A nest of blast furnaces will be  
erected without delay on the banks of  
the Black River. The new organization  
reaches to the very roots of the industry,  
including all the wire, rod, capacity in  
the country, and having control of the  
supply of materials from the ore in the  
ground to the wire nails and the finely  
spun wire, used for all purposes from  
the manufacture of cloth to the erection  
of a telegraph line, the finished product  
of the industry. The company will own  
iron mills about Lake Superior. Some  
of these are the Jackson mine of the  
Cleveland Rolling Mill Company, the  
Oliver interest in the Oliver-Carnegie  
purchases on the Mesaba range, and the  
Tilden and Norrie mines. Like the  
Carnegie Company, in its line of struc-  
tural material, rails, and other heavy  
stuff, the wire consolidation, in its own  
line, WILL BE ABLE, WITHOUT THE  
POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESSFUL COM-  
PETITION FROM ANY SOURCE  
WHATSOEVER, TO SUPPLY WHAT-  
EVER MARKETS IT DESIRES TO  
ENTER."

This last clause is no empty boast.

It means, first, that to a greater ex-  
tent than before and more brazenly than  
ever, the myth about labor's right and  
capacity to change its master has been  
curtained.

It means savings at a tremendous  
rate, and that these savings will be  
made at the expense of the workers,  
whose such consolidation renders super-  
fluous, who are thrown upon the streets,  
and who, by increasing the supply of  
labor reduce the price of labor, or the  
wages of the worker.

It means increased power to the  
private holders of so essential a social  
institution, and deepened dependence  
for the workers who alone will produce  
all the wealth yielded by the well-ran-  
ned concern.

Finally, it means one more object  
lesson of collective labor and its pro-  
ductivity; one more giant object lesson  
of the absurdity of such collective labor  
going hand in hand with private owner-  
ship; one more heavy blow on the back  
of a social system whose productive

powers are rotten-ripe for public owner-  
ship; one more long stride towards the  
Social Revolution.

## THE SAME OLD STORY.

News comes from England that the  
contemplated railroad strike has been  
abandoned. The reason given is that  
"not one-third of the men are organized,  
and their society has not money enough  
to undertake a strike."

Such a set of facts—no funds and un-  
organized majority—coming from the  
classic ground of pure and simple trade  
unionism, tells a tale that should be  
taken to heart.

The theory of pure and simple union-  
ism is that the condition of the workers  
can be improved by organizations that  
are simply and purely industrial or  
economic. According to this theory, the  
Labor Question is not a political ques-  
tion at all. Politics can go as it likes;  
provided the workers are organized for  
the economic struggle, all is done that  
can and need be done. This theory pre-  
supposes the possibility of so organizing  
the workers while the Government is  
left wholly in the hands of the idlers or  
capitalists, and no political effort is put  
forth looking towards the dislodgment  
of the capitalist class from its political  
power. We have often illustrated the  
fundamental error of a theory that  
denies so essential a principle as that  
the Labor Question is essentially a polit-  
ical one, and the fatal results that flow  
from the misconception. We shall not  
now return to that phase of the ques-  
tion. We shall here take up the pure  
and simple position from another side.

The proof of the pudding lies in the  
eating. The pure and simple theory has  
been in practice fully two generations  
and in England it has had full swing.  
If it were possible to organize the  
trades upon pure and simple lines the  
thing would surely have been done in  
England. Was it? No; the failure there  
is almost as signal as here: Only a small  
minority is organized, and the funds  
collected are too trifling to justify en-  
trance into a conflict with the well-filled  
pockets of the foe. The condition of the  
society of railroad workers in England is,  
therefore, a stubborn fact, which  
denies pure and simpledom.

Nor can it be otherwise. Planted on  
a theory of the social system that is  
wholly wrong, every step taken by the  
pure and simple organization must tend  
towards exemplifying its impotence.  
It cannot gather the forces of labor  
within its camp because it rears its  
camp within bounds that are too nar-  
row. A pint measure can never contain  
a gallon. The gallon measure of the  
Labor Question will never go into the  
pint measure of the pure and simple  
trade union. Only the broad bottomed  
measure of New Trade Unionism can  
embrace the Labor Question.

To organize the trades successfully,  
the capitalist or bourgeois idea of or-  
ganization for the purpose of cornering  
the merchandise labor-power must be  
abandoned. The worker must be en-  
listed as a soldier conscious of the pur-  
pose of his enlistment—not the uphold-  
ing of the existing system by imitating  
the exploiters, but the overthrow of the  
existing system. Only then can they be  
all gathered together, because only then  
is the bond of solidarity between all  
quickened into life.

## POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

If any one needs any evidence of the  
profoundity of ignorance that typifies  
capitalist papers let him read, scan and  
gloat over this gem from the Abbing-  
ton, Mass., "Advertiser":

"The Socialist party of Austria-Hun-  
gary is as harmonious as the National-  
ist party of Ireland. While mankind  
are perishing for want of light, liberty  
and the comforts of civilization, the  
Socialists of Austria-Hungary quarrel  
among themselves and split up into two  
parties—the Social Democrats and the  
Christian Socialists, and fight and stone  
each other, and pull hair over a little  
matter of theology."

We are now ready at any moment to  
find in the columns of some Austria-  
Hungary compeer, of the "Advertiser,"  
some item like this:

"The Socialists of America are quar-  
reling among themselves; they have  
split up into two parties—the Socialist  
Labor party and the Gold Bug Repub-  
lican party, and they are actually vot-  
ing each other down; and such is the  
hatred of these two split up factions of  
the Socialist party, that the Gold Bug  
Republican faction actually tries to sup-  
press the vote of the other Socialist fac-  
tion, the Socialist Labor party, and it  
even sends rowdies into their meetings,  
who have to be handed over to the  
police."

Although our friends the enemy in-  
sist in imputing to us devilish qualities,  
we shall give them one more illustra-  
tion of our angelic, nay, saintly dis-  
position.

The Indianapolis, Ind., "Deutsch-  
Amerikanische Buchdrucker-Zeitung,"  
organ of the German compositors, has  
been wearing out its teeth—like the  
serpent in the fable trying to chew off  
a file—in its attempt to overcome the im-  
pregnable array of facts with which, in  
its circular "In the Matter of the  
Printers," the G. E. B. of the Socialist  
Trade & Labor Alliance convicted cer-  
tain "unions" and "unionists" of aiding  
scabs and of other grave crimes against  
the proletariat.

We wish to exemplify our charity to  
the distressed "Deutsch-Amerikanische  
Buchdrucker-Zeitung" by extending to  
it, in all sincerity, our heartfelt  
sympathy in its tribulations.

## PROBING POVERTY.

A committee, consisting of leisurely  
college professors, has been appointed  
to inquire into the causes of destitution  
in New York. Their report is interest-  
ing. Interesting not only for the points  
it furnishes to hang the professors over  
the head with, but also because it fur-  
nishes a striking and living illustration  
of one of the most telling passages in  
Bellamy's "Looking Backward."

Here is what our professors actually  
report:

The 500 records examined gave a total  
number of applications for relief of 832.  
These were distributed as follows: 500  
applied once, 184 a second time, 87 a  
third time, 35 a fourth time, 12 a fifth  
time, 7 a sixth time, 4 a seventh time,  
and 3 an eighth time. A conclusion  
drawn in the report is that "a consid-  
erable amount of chronic pauperism"  
exists, the real amount being greater  
than these figures indicate. In the 500  
families there were 782 men and women.  
Fifty-five per cent. were married; 25  
per cent. were widows; a small per-  
centage were deserted wives. The num-  
ber of single males exceeded that of  
single females. In age, the largest num-  
ber of applicants were between thirty  
and thirty-nine, "the period," says the  
report, "of greatest strain upon families  
on account of the number of children  
who are yet dependent." In 27 per cent.  
of the families there were no children.  
The average number of children for the  
500 cases was 2.05. The nationality of  
the applicants was as follows: American,  
26.4 per cent.; English, 8.2 per cent.;  
German, 12.6 per cent.; Irish, 34 per  
cent.; Italians, 1.6 per cent.; other  
nationalities, 17.2 per cent.

The report then passes on to a statis-  
tical consideration of the alleged and  
real causes of distress. In a table of  
alleged causes it appears that distress  
was due in 312 cases to loss of employ-  
ment, in 226 cases to sickness or acci-  
dent, in 25 cases to intemperance, in 52  
cases to insufficient earnings, in 45 to  
physical defect or old age, in 40 to death  
of wage-earner, in 40 to desertion, in 103  
to uncertain causes. In the table of real  
causes a widely different state of affairs  
appears. Lack of employment appears  
as the cause of distress in 115 cases,  
sickness or accidents in 102, physical  
defect or old age in 27, death of wage-  
earner in 18, desertion in 15, intemper-  
ance in 57, shiftlessness in 50, "no need"  
in 86.

When reading the records the tabula-  
tors made an attempt to determine the  
character of the adult members of the  
families, with the following result:  
Good, 353; criminal, 16; insane, 1; in-  
temperate, 127; shiftless, 108; suspicious,  
43; untruthful, 29; uncertain, 103.

Of the treatment of these cases the  
report says:

The treatment consists of friendly  
visiting and advice, of giving temporary  
help, of referring to hospitals, churches  
and societies to which the case properly  
belongs, and in finding permanent em-  
ployment. As the chief cause of dis-  
tress is lack of employment, the treat-  
ment most needed is to find employ-  
ment. In many cases this is the only  
thing demanded, but to find permanent  
employment is the very thing most diffi-  
cult to accomplish, especially in times  
of distress and when the applicant is  
intemperate, shiftless, or of uncertain  
character. In many cases a great va-  
riety of treatment is given, and the case  
is nursed along until it becomes either  
independent or disappears.

The report shows that employment  
was found in 6.53 per cent.; temporary  
aid given, 20.19 per cent.; references to  
hospitals and societies were given 29.92  
per cent.; found to have no need of re-  
lief, 25.88 per cent.; unworthy of help,  
10.31 per cent.; reason uncertain, 10.93  
per cent.; information given to inquirer,  
6.94 per cent.

Were they not anticipated by the  
author of "Looking Backward," and  
their cold cruelty well photographed by  
him in the following passage:

"By way of attempting to give the  
reader some general impression of the  
way people lived together in those days,  
and especially of the relations of the  
rich and poor to one another, perhaps  
I cannot do better than to compare so-  
ciety as it then was to a prodigious  
coach which the masses of humanity  
were harnessed to and dragged toll-  
somerly along a very hilly and sandy  
road. The driver was hunger, and per-  
mitted no lagging, though the pace was  
necessarily very slow. Despite the diffi-  
culty of drawing the coach at all along  
so hard a road, the top was covered with  
passengers who never got down, even  
at the steepest ascents. These seats on  
top were very breezy and comfortable.  
Well up out of the dust, their occupants  
could enjoy the scenery at their leisure,  
or critically discuss the merits of the  
straining team. Naturally such places  
were in great demand and the competi-  
tion for them was keen, every one seek-  
ing as the first end in life to secure a  
seat on the coach for himself and to  
leave it to his child after him. By the  
rule of the coach a man could leave his  
seat to whom he wished, but on the  
other hand there were many accidents  
by which it might at any time be wholly  
lost. For all that they were so easy,  
the seats were very insecure, and at  
every sudden jolt of the coach persons  
were slipping out of them and falling  
to the ground, where they were instan-  
tly compelled to take hold of the rope  
and help to drag the coach on which  
they had before ridden so pleasantly.  
It was naturally regarded as a terrible  
misfortune to lose one's seat, and the  
apprehension that this might happen  
to them or their friends was a constant  
cloud upon the happiness of those who  
rode."

"But did they think only of them-  
selves?" you ask. Was not their very  
luxury rendered intolerable to them by  
comparison with the lot of their broth-  
ers and sisters in the harness, and the  
knowledge that their own weight added  
to their toil? Had they no compassion  
for fellow beings from whom fortune  
only distinguished them? Oh, yes; com-  
passion was frequently expressed by  
those who rode for those who had to  
pull the coach, especially when the  
vehicle came to a bad place in the road,  
as it was constantly doing, or to a par-  
ticularly steep hill. At such times, the  
desperate straining of the team, their  
agonized leaping and plunging under  
the pitiless lash of hunger, the many  
who fainted at the rope and were tramp-  
led in the mire, made a very distress-  
ing spectacle, which often called forth  
highly creditable displays of feeling on

the top of the coach. At such times the  
passengers would call down encourag-  
ingly to the toilers of the rope, exhort-  
ing them to patience, and holding out  
hopes of possible compensation in an-  
other world for the hardness of their  
lot, while others contributed to buy  
salves and liniments for the crippled  
and injured. It was agreed that it was  
a great pity that the coach should be  
so hard to pull, and there was a sense  
of general relief when the specially  
bad piece of road was gotten over.  
This relief was not, indeed, wholly on  
account of the team, for there was al-  
ways some danger at these bad places  
of a general overturn in which all would  
lose their seats."

"It must in truth be admitted that the  
main effect of the spectacle of the mis-  
ery of the toilers at the rope was to  
enhance the passengers' sense of the  
value of their seats upon the coach, and  
to cause them to hold on to them more  
desperately than before. If the pas-  
sengers could only have felt assured  
that neither they nor their friends  
would ever fall from the top, it is  
probable that, beyond contributing to  
the funds for liniments and bandages,  
they would have troubled themselves  
extremely little about those who  
dragged the coach."

Twenty-five more "Automatic Gate-  
men" have since election been intro-  
duced in the Manhattan Elevated Road  
of this city. These machines displace  
an equal number of ticket-choppers.

What has Tammany's victory done for  
these displaced proletarians? Or would  
any other capitalist party's victory have  
prevented this dire consummation?  
Assuredly not.

A Socialist victory would have put a  
different aspect on the case: It is very  
doubtful whether the capitalist class  
would so ruthlessly throw human  
beings on the streets to suffer if that  
class—those human beings and the  
rest of the working class made an in-  
telligent use of the ballot; if the workers  
gave evidence of knowing the value of  
the vote they hold, and showed it by  
conquering therewith the public powers  
from the capitalist class, this class  
would be slow to treat them in a way  
that would egg them on to hasten the  
downfall of capitalism.

But even if the labor vote had not yet  
reached last November the magnitude  
of a victory, the workers would at least,  
by having greatly increased the vote of  
their class, have brought the day of  
their deliverance by so much nearer.

These "Automatic Gatemen" being, as  
they are, in plain view of the whole pub-  
lic, ought to bring home to the whole  
working class what the effect of im-  
proved machinery is, and how urgent it  
is to take control of the machine.

Own the machine, or the machine will  
own you.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## A Correct Forecast.

To THE PEOPLE:—As capitalists  
have desecrated poetry, art and the flag  
for the vile use of advertising and pol-  
itics, they will in a short time un-  
doubtedly do the same with our Federal  
constitution, especially the preamble,  
the best part of it, and the following  
will be the style adopted:

We, the people of the United States,  
in order to form a more perfect union,  
use Le Page's Glue, establish justice, in-  
sure domestic tranquility by insuring in  
the New York Life, provide for the com-  
mon defence by using Sapollo, and gen-  
eral welfare by taking Hood's Sarsa-  
parilla, do ordain and establish this  
constitution for ourselves and our pros-  
perity.

Yours truly,  
New York, Dec. 1.

## LETTER BOX.

## Orhand Answers to Inquirers.

A. L., Minneapolis, Minn.—Your  
letter of last October 13 turns up now at  
the bottom of an old file. Guess the  
questions you ask have since been  
answered one way or other. In these  
columns. If not, let us know, and, if  
not too many subsequent questions  
from other sources happen to bury yours  
out of sight, shall try to answer.

T. L., Westerly, R. I.—Just look up  
THE PEOPLE's file; you will see our  
N. Y. vote. It grew everywhere.

M. A., Boston.—Send in the matter  
for next week. De Leon's address will  
probably find space in next issue.

C. K., New York.—The matter lies in  
the hands of the "Daily People Com-  
mittee."

## MEN OF LABOR.

(Written for THE PEOPLE by J. A. EDGERTON.)

Men of labor, why for others  
Ever toil?  
Men of labor, be ye brothers,  
Not the spoil  
Of the vampires, who are taking  
All the wealth that ye are making;  
Of the serpent that would crush you in  
its coil.

Why be slaves? Why wait ye longer?  
Be ye free.  
Than your tyrants ye are stronger.  
Liberty!  
Shout that watchword unto heaven;  
Shout it till your bonds are riven;  
Shout it till the sounds ring over land  
and sea.

Make Equality the beacon  
To the earth;  
Until Tyranny shall weaken,  
And a birth  
Bright as the bright dreams of sages  
In the past and vanished ages.  
Of Fraternity and Liberty come forth.

Speak! The weary world is waiting  
For your call;  
Never in your zeal abating,  
Until fall  
All the Greed and Wrong that bind  
us;  
Wrecks upon Time's shore behind  
us;  
And a new day shed its beauty over all.



UNCLE SAM &amp; BROTHER JONATHAN

Brother Jonathan—it is clear to me  
that we are fast going to the devil in  
this country, and will get there soon  
too, unless the break is put down.  
Uncle Sam—You have spoken like an  
oracle.

B. J.—The shackles of slavery are  
being forged—

U. S.—Oracular again.

B. J.—Yes, we must stop that.

U. S.—True. How would you go about  
it?

B. J.—Put an end to the tyranny that  
Socialism proposes.

U. S.—I don't quite understand you,  
B. J.—I'll explain. The Socialists are  
organizing unions, and they demand  
that a certain wage shall be paid—

U. S.—No harm in that—

B. J.—No harm? That's tyranny!  
What becomes of freedom? I would have  
laws passed to protect the employers,  
and thereby insure freedom.

U. S. smiles.

B. J.—It is an essential principle of  
freedom that workmen shall have  
the right to labor unmolested for such  
persons and at such wages as he or she  
may elect.

U. S.—May elect?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Does "election" presuppose  
freedom of choice?

B. J.—Of course.

U. S.—If there is no freedom of  
choice, is there an "election"?

B. J.—No.

U. S. (taking out a pistol, puts it to  
the head of B. J., who tries to run off  
but is held back by U. S.)—I'll show  
you dead if you don't fork out all your  
money. What do you elect? Choose!

B. J.—Are you crazy? Police!

U. S.—No, sir; very much in my  
senses!

B. J.—Have you become a highway  
robber? Police!

U. S.—Never mind that. Choose!

B. J.—How can I choose? Do you  
call that giving a man a choice?

U. S.—Don't you?

B. J. (scared out of his senses)—No; I  
don't.

U. S. (puts his revolver away, much  
to the relief of B. J.)—You went through  
a good scare, eh?

B. J.—I don't like such jokes.



# AUSTRIA.

The disturbances now going on in Austria are destined to lead to results that will seem unexpected and unaccountable unless one is informed on the under-current of the Socialist movement in the Empire. In view of that,

the below sketch on the Socialist Labor party movement in Austria will be found interesting reading. It is one of the monographs that will appear in the Socialist Almanac, now being prepared by Lucien Sanial:

There were only a few Socialists in Austria, scattered and unorganized, when in the last days of 1867 some "economic reformers" of the Schultze-Delitsch school undertook to hold a series of meetings in Vienna for the purpose of establishing co-operative stores. At one of those gatherings, which was attended by six thousand working people, the Socialist Hartung obtained the floor. In a brilliant speech, buttressed with the powerful arguments which Ferdinand Lassalle had a few years before used in his discussion, now historical, with Schultze-Delitsch himself, he so completely routed the "co-operators" that the vast audience tore up the by-laws of the association that had just been formed, and resolved itself into a Socialist organization, which immediately entered into communication with the "International."

Four months later (May 10, 1868), a manifesto was issued in the German, Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish, Roumanian and Italian languages, calling upon the tolling millions of the empire to unite and organize for the attainment of the following objects:

- 1—Universal and direct suffrage.
  - 2—Emancipation of the working class from capitalistic tyranny.
  - 3—Complete freedom of speech and association; liberty of the press.
  - 4—International brotherhood of labor and consequent abolition of war.
- "Capital," said the manifesto, "has no nationality, no race, no frontiers. Neither has labor power, which in all countries is subjected to the same use and abuse."

On that day also a deputation was sent to the government to demand universal suffrage. The claim, of course, was ignored. But the organization of the masses proceeded with such rapidity that on the 18th of December, 1869, upon a call issued by the Central Committee, one hundred thousand men assembled in Vienna, marched in military order to the legislative palace, and presented the demands formulated in the manifesto of 1868, with a supplementary one for the abolition of permanent armies and the substitution thereof of a militia comprising all the citizens able to bear arms.

The ruling classes were terrified. The Prime Minister, after conferring with the Emperor, promised that the demands would be duly considered. Suspicious, yet law-abiding, the great procession fled away in the same perfect order as it had observed in coming; not, however, until the statement had been made by its leaders that if the demands were not granted the people would come again, and in greater numbers, to signify their will. On the following day the leaders were arrested, the Socialist papers were suppressed, and a large military force was concentrated at Vienna to prevent any demonstration that might be attempted.

During the era of despotism and persecution that followed, the movement for a time preserved its vigor. But, owing to the nearly complete disfranchisement of the proletariat, it could not, as in Germany, assume the form of a great political party; nor did the Anarchists, in spite of their efforts, succeed in side-tracking it, although they succeeded well enough, by an occasional "propaganda of the deed," in strengthening the government. When the International went out of existence, the more devoted among those who were imbued with its principles concluded to carry on, quietly but steadily, an educational agitation until the time came, in the natural course of economic and political developments, when it would be possible to resume work on a scale of greater magnitude and upon such tactical lines as the surrounding conditions might then suggest. Realizing the extent to which the march of Social Democracy in the German Empire would of itself prove a factor of education and encouragement in their own country, they intently watched its advance and enthusiastically heralded its victories.

They were not disappointed. From 1880 to 1887, the propaganda became very active, and resulted in a good beginning of organization.

In Bohemia, especially, the movement grew apace; not only among the German-speaking inhabitants, chiefly settled in the Northeast, but among the Czechs—or Bohemians proper—who constitute more than three-fifths of the population of that important part of the Austrian Empire. The conditions there were such, however, that Anarchistic appeals to passion naturally evoked a readier response from the oppressed workers than could be obtained by the Socialistic method of cool-headed, clear-sighted, scientific and determined advance to a well-defined objective point. The Anarchists, therefore, were not slow in availing themselves of every opportunity to gain influence and to prepare the ground for those factional dissensions which, there as elsewhere, had finally to be ended by the summary process of repudiation and separation in order to arrive at a thoroughly homogeneous and really strong movement.

It was from their intercourse with the Germans that the Czechs had first acquired some notions of Socialism. But the vigilance of the Bohemian authorities, who promptly confiscated every tract, leaflet or other literature obviously destructive of "sound ideas and honest sentiments" concerning property, had rendered the dissemination of Socialist truth practically impossible until a Bohemian edition of Schaeffle's "Quintessence of Socialism" made its appearance. Owing to the high position which its author had occupied in the Imperial councils, this work could not well be suppressed, and it was hungrily perused by the multitude. Only within the past seven years did the Czechs have access to some of Marx's and Bebel's writings. Nevertheless, as already stated, their progress was rapid in the early eighties. It was also marked by extraordinary suffering. "Hundreds of Socialists," writes Josef Hybes, who represented the Czechs at the London Congress of 1896, "were dragged in chains to Prague from all parts of Bohemia. The packed Senate of the Provincial Assembly operated as surely and swiftly as the guillotine. To this very day some victims of that era of persecution are languishing in Bohemian dungeons. Most of the labor unions were dissolved. The party organs were suppressed and their staffs thrown into prison."

After a six years' reign of terror, the persecutors relented. Not that they were tired of cruelty; for mercy is an unknown sentiment to the ruling classes so long as their privileges are contested or threatened; but because they fondly believed that they had succeeded in eradicating Socialism from the land, and feared that any further display of harshness, by perpetuating discontent, might prove more hurtful than beneficial to their interests. Some even assumed a benevolent attitude and talked patronizingly of measures "for the improvement of the working class." To their dismay, however, they soon found that the Bohemian Social-Democratic party was anything but a corpse; that it was, in fact, a more active soul in a more lively body than it had ever been; and that it could no more be soothed by middle class "social reform" syrup than driven out of existence by persecution. This was made evident to them in 1887, when the party held a conference at Brunn and elaborated a new programme, the terms of which, however, were to hold good only until the Socialist organizations of the whole empire, through their representatives, assembled in convention, had adopted a general platform, binding upon all; for—it was declared—although the differences of language and other circumstances necessitated the formation of autonomous organizations by the different peoples of the empire with a view to the better conduct of agitation and action, each of them should only be an organic member of the whole "Austrian" party, considered as an indivisible body.

In order to comprehend the full import of this declaration, certain fundamental conditions of Austrian politics should right here be understood. Each of the nationalities united into an Empire under the Habsburg crown, has its own language; its own interests, its own ambitions. Again, in each nationality there are different classes, with special interests, more or less antagonistic. Therefore, a so-called "national" middle class party in Bohemia, for instance, is essentially a Bohemian party, whose interests may at times clash with those of a so-called "national" middle class party in Galicia, or in Styria, or in Hungary. Likewise, the aristocracy of the Empire, though occasionally united upon general questions involving the preservation of its privileges, is frequently divided against itself upon so-called "national" lines. A striking illustration of the effects that may be produced by such a political structure was lately afforded in the riotous proceedings of the Reichsrath, consequent upon the attempted co-ordination of the German and Czech languages in Bohemia, and followed by the fall of the Badeni cabinet. Now, the declaration of the Bohemian Socialists, in strict accordance with the fundamental principle of International Socialism, meant that the proletarian classes of the whole Empire, regardless of language, race, nationality, creed or employment, were to be a political, economical and intellectual unit against each and all of the so-called "national" parties.

This brave challenge of the Bohemian Comrades to the warring cohorts of despotism was relayed with emphasis the following year (1888) by all the Austrian Socialist forces at the Congress of Vienna; where the party as it now exists was constituted, with its several autonomous organizations.

The immediate object of the party necessarily was to obtain universal suffrage; an aim which it had no means of attaining but by constantly harassing the government, the great capitalists, and even the small bourgeoisie. The Socialists, therefore, concentrated a large amount of energy upon the organization of trade unions, although under the law they could not directly affiliate those economic bodies with their political party. The Austrian Government has, indeed; carried out to the letter Sam Gompers' "American Idea," so-called, of "No Politics in Trade Unions"; and should this "Pure-and-Simple" British historian ever "go to Austria," it would not be by the organized labor but by the organized tyranny of the country that he would be welcome.

One of their first opportunities in this field of work was the great strike on the tramways. They improved it fearlessly and at no small cost. Persecution revived. In Vienna their official organ, the "Gleichheit," was seized and its editors were imprisoned as "Anarchists." At Steiermark and at Trieste the judiciary gave the law a similar twist in its treatment of Socialist leaders. Nevertheless they won the strike and united the tramway employees into a powerful organization. So great was their activity in all branches of trade that at the Brussels International Congress of 1891 their delegates reported "from incomplete statistics" 230 unions, with a membership of over 48,000.

At the same time they built up a powerful press. The number of their political organs, which in 1889 was already 6, with an aggregate circulation of 15,400, rose in eighteen months to 16, with a total circulation of 50,000. In a still shorter period they established 19 trade papers, with a subscription list of 41,600. At Zurich in 1893 they reported 23 political organs, 13 of which were published in German, 8 in Bohemian and 2 in Polish. The Vienna press alone had a circulation of 32,000 copies, read by not less than 100,000 people.

Such achievements, in the face of obstacles apparently insurmountable, and by men reduced in their means of life to a point apparently below the minimum requirement of animal existence, were well calculated to make the

enemy pause and consider. As every persecution seemed to strengthen the movement, and as the Socialist press, even so trammelled, could not only expound and defend the principles of the party but expose turpitudes and attack offenders, the capitalist became less insolent, the police more circumspect, the judiciary less prone to inflict sentences, and the middle class began to hypocritically profess some sympathy for the "poor workman."

This improvement in the attitude of their despoilers did not blind the awakening masses to the true causes of it. Unaccompanied by economic or political concessions, it rather opened their eyes more widely to the advantages which they could only gain by sustaining the aggressive and uncompromising policy of the Socialists.

"May Day," instituted by the Paris International Congress of 1889, was also most effective in propagating sentiments of proletarian solidarity. Its first observance by the wage-working class in 1890 was general throughout the Austrian Empire. In 1893, coming a few days after the Belgian Comrades had won the battle for universal suffrage, the demonstrations assumed gigantic proportions. The enthusiasm of the people could not be restrained either by capitalistic threats or military display. One hundred and fifty thousand men and women paraded the thoroughfares of Vienna with bands and banners, cheering at every step for "Universal Suffrage" and the "International Social Democracy."

The public clamor for political rights now became so loud and so constant that it could no longer be ignored by the government, even though such a typical reactionist as Count Taaffe was at that time at the head of the Imperial Cabinet. In October, 1893, proposals on the lines of the Belgian scheme—namely, granting the suffrage to the proletarian masses of city and country, but otherwise calculated to maintain the political preponderance of the possessing classes—were brought in by the Ministry. This in itself, regardless of what might subsequently happen, was an immense triumph for the Socialists. It established the fact that to them, and to them alone, the disinherited must look for the assertion and conquest of their every right.

These proposals threw the Austrian Parliament into convulsions. The three great reactionary parties—the aristocratic, the clerical and the upper middle class—arose in their wrath and banded themselves together into a great coalition against the man who had dared to give form to a political idea so revolutionary in principle, so far-reaching in its social consequences. Count Taaffe was defeated, and those hitherto mutually destructive parties fell into line as one reactionary force to resist the demands of the workers.

But the infamous Ministry of that coalition (the Windschgrätz Ministry, formed on Nov. 23, 1893) found upon taking the reins of government that it could not summarily dismiss or violently suppress the now firmly planted idea of suffrage reform. With unprecedented energy and unbounded enthusiasm the Social-Democratic party now carried on a ceaseless agitation. To the official persecution of its members, which was again becoming intolerable, it boldly replied with the threat of a general strike, without, however, entertaining any illusion on the outcome of such a desperate step. Driven to cover by this unexpected display of unquenchable determination, Ministry and Parliament resorted to dilatory tactics, referring the franchise question from the cabinet to the Chamber, from the Chamber to a standing committee, and from that committee to a sub-committee, whose deliberations were to be privately conducted. From time to time a most complicated and impracticable scheme was presented, affording the desired opportunity for interminable discussion. Meanwhile mass meetings were held under Socialist auspices in large and small towns, and bloody conflicts between the police and the people were of almost daily occurrence, owing to illegal interference and willful provocation on the part of the authorities. Finally, the shooting down of strikers at Falkenau and Ostau and the mining disaster of Karwin so aroused the indignation of the people that the Ministry, unable to resist any longer the immense pressure of the franchise issue, brought out the legislative scheme concocted in the secrecy of their parliamentary sub-committee. This was, of course, a disgraceful abortion; a mockery of fundamental law. The moment it became known, the uproar throughout the country, and even in Parliament, was tremendous. The coalition broke down and sunk out of sight in general scorn and contempt.—Triumph No. 2 for the Social Democracy.

Then followed the Badeni Ministry, which at last "succeeded" in developing a scheme of "electoral reform" that proved acceptable to the privileged classes. This was of necessity received by the Socialists, not by any means as a first installment of the great debt owing to the proletariat, but as a prying tool of some possible use in effecting an entrance into Parliament, where the few of them who might squeeze in through the narrow opening just made would be able to agitate, educate and generally bombard the citadel of privilege from a more elevated position.

Here, again, a brief explanation is necessary to the understanding of the "reform" in question.

Under the old electoral law, (1) the aristocracy and the high clergy, (2) the great capitalists, (3) the bourgeoisie (or middle class) of cities, and (4) the peasant proprietors, constituted four distinct electoral classes, or "curiae," each of which sent to the lower house of Parliament a certain number of deputies. Under the new law this division is maintained, and the total number of deputies sent by the four privileged classes is, as it was before, 353. But the proletariat, the wage-workers, the dispossessed, the productive masses of the empire, upon the labor of which emperor, noble, bishop, capitalist, trader and landowner are dependant for existence, and which had no representation, at all in the Reichsrath under the old law, have been politically dignified: into a curia, entitled to 72 deputies, or one-sixth of the whole number. Any single one of the four privileged curiae can, in fact, outvote in Parliament the proletarian curia.

The least numerous but most privileged of the four upper curiae is, of course, the first, composed of nobles and prelates. A baker's dozen of these lords and emperors may own a whole electoral district, and are therefore entitled to one representative, while it may take 50,000 plebeian voters in a crowded center of population to elect a deputy. (In Bohemia, for instance, 28 per cent. of the soil is owned by 362 persons, chiefly nobles. And note, by the way, that the Bohemian land-owning magnate is also an employer of labor in various industries other than agriculture. He is brewer, distiller, glass and sugar manufacturer, timber merchant and colliery owner all in one. Nowhere else in the world is "agrarian industrialism" so fully developed as in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.) To this powerful medieval class belongs also the upper house of Parliament, the house of lords, which is composed of princes, nobles, arch-bishops, bishops and life members appointed by the Emperor.

The second curia is essentially representative of capitalism in its highest development. It is composed of the chambers of commerce, whose members are elected by private corporations, bankers and great merchants. From this men's statement an idea may be formed of the character, views and abilities of the deputies of this curia.

As regards the city and country bourgeoisies, or middle classes, which constitute the two next curiae, it may be observed that their influence, like their numerical strength, is now on the wane. The "original intent" of the Constitution—which had been framed in times of political and social turmoil, when the middle classes were at the height of their power—had been to place in their hands the reins of government. But, by a strange combination of economic evolution and feudal reaction, the plutocracy has steadily forged to the front while the aristocracy regained its standing. Yet, with every plutocratic or aristocratic encroachment, tending to shorten the life of the middle class, the bourgeois parties, whose chief characteristic is to be stone-blind, everywhere and under all circumstances, are growing more bitter against Socialism, which would extinguish the class but save the man, and more servile to the actual destroyers of both the class and the man.

At last the electoral campaign opened. Although powerful as a body of agitators, already capable of profoundly stirring the working masses in nearly all parts of the vast empire, the Socialists were not yet, by far, sufficiently organized to place everywhere candidates in the field. Their pecuniary means, also, were very limited. Again, some of their most effective speakers, writers and organizers were pining away behind prison bars. Lastly, every influence, every device, every mode of intimidation that could be brought to bear upon the dependent, the timid or the ignorant, by the privileged and their lackeys was unscrupulously used to the utmost extent. Fraud was also resorted to on a stupendous scale. The day of voting was not the same in different places. In the rural districts there was actually no day fixed in advance, and the casting of votes took place at any village when a perambulating commission, appointed for the purpose of collecting the suffrages, made its appearance. This commission was usually accompanied by gendarmes or soldiers. On many occasions notice was given of its coming to the local authorities so that those only were secretly informed and could vote who might be depended upon to "vote right." In order to carry out this plan more effectively, the commission would arrive late in the evening, the trusted voters alone would be awakened, and the election would be held at midnight. The peasants rebelled against this practice; they kept up videttes to warn them of the arrival of the commission and appeared in full force at the ballot box. This gave rise to warm protests, to indignant denunciations, and finally to riots, which were quelled by gendarmes and soldiers with the sabre and the bayonet. The spilling of blood was officially justified by the commission and unofficially by the government organs, on the remarkable ground that the "rebels" were men "dissatisfied with having been granted the right of suffrage, and this sovereign right had to be vindicated at any cost of limb, or of life if necessary."

For all that, when the count had all been made up, it was found that the Socialist candidates had received 750,000 votes, and that fifteen of them had been elected, seven of whom were from Bohemia.

On that day of March, 1897—the coldest day on record for the privileged classes of Austria, the most pleasantly warm for her proletariat—a mighty shout went up from the Alps to the Karpatha, from the Danube to the Vistula. It was re-echoed throughout Europe, and many a Socialist heart in America throbbed with delight and hope. The day of universal deliverance is surely coming.

A peculiarity of the labor movement in Austria, which we have endeavored to make quite plain in the foregoing pages, and which commends it to the attention of Americans, is that the diversity of races and languages in the empire, instead of proving the most serious obstacle to the propagation of Socialism, has contributed to give it there, in a higher degree, perhaps, than anywhere else, its true international character.

The chief difficulty with which the Austrian Comrades have had to contend, and one that does not exist to the same extent in any other country, is the difference of economic conditions in the various parts of that great political aggregate, over which a Habsburg is still reigning in somewhat feudal style. While manufacturing industries of the most advanced type are flourishing in certain regions and turning out products actually unequalled in the world, in other regions agriculture not only is the sole occupation of the people, but has hardly progressed beyond the early ways of civilization. The great estates, the best cultivated, are owned by the nobles or great capitalists, whose relations to the peasantry are essentially those of the ancient lords to their vassals five hundred years ago. In great cities the artisan, although injuriously affected in many ways by the competition of machine work, has not yet been driven

out of existence, and the small merchant, who bewails his own decline but rejoices at the failure of his fellow tradesman, is still a being of much importance. Here, then, we have a composite structure of advanced capitalism, middle class individualism and antiquated feudalism, the triple face of which is necessarily reflected in the manners of the people and in their national legislation.

To preserve this incongruous structure, made up of three plundering classes respectively belonging to different ages; to harmonize those three "interests," naturally antagonistic, in securing to each its "proper share" of the wealth exclusively produced by a fourth class, fit only to be robbed so long as it remains unconscious of its power and destiny; such is the problem with which the modern "statemen" of Austria are constantly wrestling; a problem of political acrobatics far more complicated than was centuries ago the purely military one of gathering under one crown different races of the same social and economic age.

To awaken the fourth class; to strike the hour, projected by the sun of progress on the dial of time, when that class must emerge in full consciousness from the animal state and be the whole of humanity; such is the task of Socialists everywhere; a task by no means easy in Austria; and, for that matter, most difficult where it seems easiest; but a simple one, that all are irresistibly impelled to perform, who, seeing the light, know that the day has come.

## DEBS IN LYNN.

### A Document of Present and Future Historic Interest.

LYNN, Mass., Dec. 1.—The report I wish to give of the questions and answers at our Lynn "Debs meeting" may seem belated at this hour, the meeting having taken place on October 26. But this is one of the cases of "rather late than never." Quite recent events impart lasting interest to these questions, put by our Comrades, and answered by Debs. All our Comrades should know what took place.

#### QUESTION BY COMRADE REARDON:

"Why do you step in between the S. L. P. and the progress it is making, as you have nothing new to offer from what the S. L. P. offers, your party being a party of a day, and a side-track movement?"

Debs: "I do not know that I am stepping in between. The leaders of the S. L. P. said that I was not eligible to membership. [He wisely refrained from being specific on that statement, not being able to make it good by proof.] The S. L. P. maligned and vilified me, but no words have fallen from my lips against them or their organization. I and my companions have been declared fools and frauds by the leaders of the S. L. P. [Here again he wisely refrained from being specific. Had he tried to be specific he would have been forced to fall back upon the firm and trenchant criticisms with which the party exposed his errors. By doing that he would have had to admit what is becoming clearer to all—to wit, that he and his blind devotees resent all criticism as a personal affront, a sort of insult to the Holy of Holies.] I did not want to join the S. L. P. and be thrown out, as other good men have been. [Here he looked with a pleasant nod to Mr. Herbert N. Casson, who sat on the platform, and who, as our Comrades will remember, tried to place himself above the party, was expelled and then figured as one of the organizers of the "New" or "Bryan Democracy," whose members in the Massachusetts Legislature made common cause with the Republicans.] While their principles are entirely satisfactory to me, I am utterly opposed to their tactics. There are thousands of Socialists driven from the party by their tactics. It is impossible to build up a Socialist party with such tactics in this country. That is why I and my associates laid the foundation of a new Social Democracy."

#### QUESTION BY COMRADE McDONNELL:

"Before putting my question, I wish to say that there can be no leaders in the S. L. P. in the sense you speak of, because each member has a voice and vote on all things like any other. But it is not a fact that all that keeps you out of the S. L. P. is your own individualism?"

Debs: "I look upon the S. L. P. in the light of stifiers, who drive many who would be good Socialists out of their ranks by their intemperate language and actions." [Specifications were again omitted, because the "intemperate" language and actions in mind would have been found to be the identical language that the Populist "Socialists" complained of when they were proven to be wrong and bound to collapse; and the "good" Socialists kept away would have been found to be the gentlemen who got pay for stumping for the candidate of the silver mine syndicates who shoot down their miners.]

#### QUESTION BY COMRADE MALONEY:

"If the S. L. P. is what you claim, how is it that Mr. John Foster, organizer of Branch 1, Social Democracy of Philadelphia, made application to the S. L. P. to unite forces?"

Debs: "I deny that staunchly. I doubt not that such a letter was received by the S. L. P., but I have strong doubts of its coming from Mr. Foster." [This was, presumably, a sample of "intemperate" language towards the S. L. P. The inference his words sought to create was that the S. L. P. wrote the letter and mailed it to themselves—in other words, forged Foster's name. Since then I wrote to Mr. Foster, whose name and address were attached to his letter in THE PEOPLE, and I received a very prompt answer, stating that he did write to the National Executive of the S. L. P., asking why the old and the new Socialist party could not be united on common ground, etc.]

#### QUESTION BY COMRADE GIBSON:

"In the event of your Social Democracy being successful in organizing and becoming a political party, would it put up a ticket in the field against the S. L. P. and its platform?"

Debs: "Would the S. L. P. put up one against the Social Democracy?" [The answer to the following question throws some light on this evasion.]

#### QUESTION BY COMRADE McDONNELL:

"Didn't you use your influence for Bryan, and also vote for him at the last election?"

Debs: "Yes; and I would do it again under the same circumstances. I consider that Bryan was doing a great work for the Socialist cause, as all the trusts and combines were against him. [Here we have it all in a nutshell: the candidate of the syndicated silver mine barons is considered as having "all the trusts and combines" against him; the candidate of the bankrupt middle class interests, that seek to SMASH THE TRUSTS AND COMBINES, AND IN THAT WAY SEND US BACK TO THE DAYS OF SMALL INDIVIDUAL PRODUCTION, is considered to be "doing a great work for the Socialist cause," for a cause the object of which is to PROMOTE CONCENTRATION

AND LARGE COLLECTIVE PRODUCTION!] The S. L. P. has been in existence 15 years; its vote for Matchett and Maguire fell off 6,000 at the last election. [?] At the last Presidential election—Matchett and Maguire, 1896—we polled 36,564 votes, or 15,407 more than at the previous Presidential election, 1892. Moreover, while this increase may seem small, it is infinitely larger than the millions of Debs' Bryan party our increase or "falling off" was a thing to build on, and we have built on, and, since, "fallen off" some more by reaching at least 52,000 this year, while the "increase" of the vote of the "promoter of Socialism Bryan" has resulted in a dumping of his "cause." One of the reasons why the S. L. P. vote does not increase is because the members of that party consider that a man has to be on the verge of starvation before his mind is clear enough for any economic teachings. [That portrayed his understanding of what is meant by the class struggle: Seeing how explicit the party and all Socialist teaching is upon this subject, the flippancy of the answer becomes still more significant.]

#### QUESTION BY COMRADE MALONEY:

"Why do you try to throw odium upon the S. L. P. by saying it considers a man has to be reduced to starvation before he is ready for a change, when, in the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, whom you claim to admire, uses the following words literally: 'All experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.'?"

Debs acknowledged the quotation to be correct, and presumably shifted the odium to Jefferson's shoulders. Several minor questions and answers followed, and then came this:

#### QUESTION BY COMRADE REARDON:

"How can you consistently advocate Socialism and yet vote for Bryan and say he is doing good to the cause of Socialism? What claim can you lay to consistency when in one breath you tell us workers that we produced all the wealth and machinery, and everything about us, and in the next breath you ask us to abdicate our rights to all this that we have produced and go with you to some isolated corner of the country and colonize, and work with primitive tools, and leave the capitalists in possession of all this wealth that we as a whole have created, and in that way further increase the helplessness both of the workers whom we leave behind and of those who go off your colony?"

Debs: "It is perfectly consistent for a Socialist to support Bryan. Such men as Bryan will bring Socialism on, while the S. L. P. will not. Let me prove you how. I went down to talk to the miners; I could get from 15 to 20 thousand people to listen to me because I talk a language that can be understood by the miners, ignorant as they are. [According to this theory, the way to bring Socialism is not to teach Socialism but to reel off pretty phrases before large crowds. Bryan does that before large crowds. THEREFORE, he will bring Socialism, notwithstanding he preaches just the reverse of what Socialism wants. It is easier to understand false theories of economics; thousands will come and listen; THEREFORE Debs' speeches to the miners, in which capitalists are spoken of as workmen, and the hearers are switched wrong, will bring Socialism sooner than a speech delivered to fewer men who are taught correct economics. This theory might be worth trying had it not been thoroughly tried, and shown by an uninterrupted chain of experience, to lead straight to zero. Illustrations are so numerous that they are superfluous, the Social Democracy will furnish and is furnishing the latest illustration. Our gatherings start small but grow; all others start big but peter out small.] While the High Priest of the S. L. P. sits on a pedestal, high in the clouds of "scientific Socialism," I go down and put myself on a common footing with the men. For that reason the miners will follow me. But the 'Scientific Socialist' will first ask a miner 'Are you class-conscious? No! BANG, down you go!' Then, again, another miner is met, and the 'Scientific Socialist' will ask: 'Have you read and digested Karl Marx? No! BANG, down you go!' [?] Why? Just look at their official organ, THE PEOPLE, which is a proof of their despotism. The language it uses is such that some members of the S. L. P. refuse to allow it into their homes. Because of the attitude of the S. L. P. we sow the seed of a new Social Democracy. The S. L. P. can not grow under such tactics. I prophesy the Social Democracy will have two million votes in 1900. [Last June he prophesied he would have in a few weeks 500,000 men for his new colony. This is December. Where are they?]

#### QUESTION BY COMRADE HUGHES:

"Suppose your colony were successfully launched in the State of Washington, what would your Social Democracy do in case the capitalist government, which would have been left by you everywhere in power, would decide to crush it by force? As you are able to prophesy the vote in 1900, can you with the same prophetic ability prophesy what would happen if force of arms were brought to bear upon the colony?"

Debs: "I don't know just what will happen. If the colonists then are they would be proceeding wholly within their constitutional prerogatives; they would then be in the right; and those who would fire on them would be firing on Old Glory and in the position of rebels." [Did Debs learn anything from the Chicago strike?]

This will do. Several times in the course of his speech, Debs referred to Gov. Rogers, of Washington, as being



